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COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1. CLRIC A/E 8 Nov

2. CLRIC A

3. SR/CI/Red 26 NOV 1962

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5. SR/6/Vault 26 NOV 1962 27 Nov

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7. SR/Rpts 26 FEB 1963

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Please card as marked
on page 16-24+22.
Individuals met in
New York in room
of Columbia Univ. area
of Myroslava TAMORUG
3 Oct 62.

74-124-29/3
ABSTRACT INDEX
DATE 8 NOV 62

MICROFILMED

OCT 24 1969

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6 NOV 62

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

SUBJECT: Report Submitted (in Ukrainian) to AECASSOWAY/2 by Myroslava
TAMORNG ~~_____~~

Translation

The following people met in the room of Myroslava TAMORNG on Wednesday, 3 October 1962: Myroslava, Vasyl ZNAYENKO, Lida and Vsevolod Holubnychy, Dragnija Iazdins, Vladymyr Pavlovych ANDROSOV and Mark Mykhailovych GOLANSKY. The latter two are employees of the Academy of Sciences, USSR, who were in the United States for about six weeks at the invitation of the American Council of Learned Societies. GOLANSKY is an economist and has written several articles on the subject of economics. His specialty is the use of mathematics in economics. He was in the United States to study educational and research techniques and achievements of American economists in this field. However, according to Vasyl ZNAYENKO, it was evident that GOLANSKY didn't occupy himself exclusively studying this field. It is very probable that Golansky is a peculiar "scientific spy" and that he was interested not so much in the achievements of American economists in theoretical practices as in the actual application of electronic computers and in the newest models of such electronic machines.

GOLANSKY is the deputy director of the (Director is: Academician V. NEMCHINOV) Laboratory of Economic-Mathematical Methods, Academy of Sciences, USSR; that is, he occupies a purely administrative position in the Academy of Sciences.

Vladymyr Pavlovych ANDROSOV is a specialist in industrial and labor realtions. There is no doubt that he specializes in United States industry. He is interested, however, not in the economical phase of American industry but in its role in American politics, particularly regarding its relations with the government.

Both ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY arrived in the United States either in late March or early April 1962. Vasyl ZNAYENKO became acquainted, with them in mid-April 1962. Vasyl was introduced to them by Paul Medov, (Pavel Myedov), Assistant Professor of Economics at Rutgers University. On 16 April, P. Medov brought GOLANSKY to a lecture on mathematical economics being given by Professor W. Vickrey. ZNAYENKO was then taking this course at Columbia University. He was already acquainted with ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY. MEDOV became acquainted with GOLANSKY in Moscow in the summer of 1961 during the first visit to the USSR. MEDOV was introduced to GOLANSKY by Professor H. A. Tsagolov, Rector of the Economics Faculty at the University of Moscow, who in 1961 visited the U.S.A. at which time MEDOV was his interpreter. MEDOV is of Russian extraction. His father is a Jew. He was born in Prague but grew up and was educated in France (probably Paris where he was brought by his father ~~while~~ while Pavel was still a youngster. He speaks well in French. He can only read in German.

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8 Nov 62

74-124-29/3

Pavel MEDOV is about 34 years of age. He is married and has three children. He studied at Columbia University where he received his doctorate in economics in 1960. He is a student and follower of Karl POLYAN. This year, he received a Ford Foundation faculty grant at Rutgers University. He left for the USSR again and from there was supposed to go to Poland, Belgium and France.

GOLANSKY and ANDROSOV were in New York until about May. They then travelled throughout in the United States and returned to New York about late September. Before leaving New York, they both lived at the Crown Hotel, 116th Street between Amsterdam Avenue and Morningside Drive. When they returned to New York, they lived in the Barclay Hotel, 111 East 48th Street. During their earlier stay in New York, ZNAYENKO had opportunity to meet with GOLANSKY (twice at Vsevolod HOLUBNYCHY's and once at P. MEDOV's). It is interesting to note the fact that GOLANSKY ordinarily came without ANDROSOV. The impression was that they preferred not to be together.

Although ZNAYENKO knew that ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY were to return to New York after their travels throughout the United States, he did not know when they would return or where they would stay. There was no talk at all (during their earlier stay in New York) about private meetings. On Wednesday, 20 September, about 12 midnight, ZNAYENKO unexpectedly met GOLANSKY in the IRT-7th Avenue subway station at 116th Street and Broadway near Columbia University. GOLANSKY said he had been to visit V. HOLUBNYCHY. ZNAYENKO rode with GOLANSKY to Grand Central Station via Times Square. GOLANSKY mentioned that he and ANDROSOV were returning to the USSR on Friday, 5 October (actually, they left by plane for Paris on Saturday, 6 October). ZNAYENKO suggested a private meeting. GOLANSKY agreed, gave ZNAYENKO his address and telephone in New York and asked ZNAYENKO to phone him. ZNAYENKO asked GOLANSKY to be sure to bring ANDROSOV along with him. On Monday, 1 October, ZNAYENKO telephoned GOLANSKY and they made a date to meet on Wednesday, 3 October (the only day when they were both free). ZNAYENKO gave GOLANSKY the address and telephone of Martha, and GOLANSKY and ANDROSOV both appeared there at the given time.

(The following reported to AECASSOWAY/2 are Myroslava's words in English):

Wednesday, October 3, 1962, 8 PM

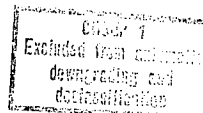
When the two men arrived, only Vassyl ZNAYENKO and I were present. After a few preliminary remarks, Vassyl excused himself and went out to get some soda. In the general conversation which emerged, I mentioned that we had asked Lydia and Vsevolod Holubnychy to join us later.

Approximate conversation:

Androssov: Are they (Holubnychy's) real Banderovtsy?

Golansky: No, Holubnychy is a marxist, I met him before.

Androssov: Marxist? How dull, we have plenty of them at home. I would like to meet some real Banderovtsy!



My comment: It always surprises me how popular the term Banderovtsy still is in the Soviet Union. To you there, every Ukrainian patriot is a Banderivets. It is but a convenient way to accuse a Ukrainian who may demand certain rights or express an unfriendly opinion toward his brother Russians.

Androsov: (explosively): What do you mean by unfriendly opinion toward Russians. Ukrainians are blood brothers of the Russians. For centuries our people have joined, common Kievan state, etc. etc. Those who are against the Russians are traitors, bourgeois nationalists, blah, blah, blah...There are hardly any left of them, except perhaps some in Western Ukraine who still want their old homes back. And furthermore, what do you want? An independent Ukrainian State (a capitalist American puppet) with some Bandera or Petlura on the top? You want Ukraine to split away from the Soviet Union (ironically:) First Ukraine, then Armenia, then Georgia, ha? That is warmongering, you want to destroy the Soviet Union. Or what do you want?

My comment: Not so very much. There should be no russification (open or otherwise), more Ukrainian schools in the Ukraine, less Russian scholars and students at Ukrainian universities (statistics prove that there are relatively much too many.) There should be less economic exploitation. Do not stress any kind of "merging of nations" and the all powerful position of Russian language and culture. Finally, give Ukraine a voice in world affairs, in fact, treat us like you treat Poland, or Czechoslovakia, as equal members and partners of the socialist camp.

Androsov: No, No, No. There is a difference, after all Ukrainians and Russians are the same people. Closer, much closer than other Slavs. In fact, Ukrainian language is but a dialect of Russian!

My comment: It is disappointing that you are so backward. Apparently you don't even know your standard sources like Bolshaya Encyclopedia. You go further than any official pronouncements of your own country! I suppose you fully approve of the "merging of nations" theory?

Androsov: Yes, why not, its a normal process. Merging is necessary.

Golansky: What are you saying? This is not our policy. Literature and art must be national in form, socialist in content. Merging of nations is not an absolute thing.

You are telling me problems of which I was never aware. Do the Ukrainians feel so strongly? My national Russian pride is hurt. Russians love Ukrainians (of course Ukrainian is a separate language!) There is no Russification, I never heard such things.

My comment: (Somewhere here I mention problem of patriotism both in Russian and Ukrainian literature. Use example of V. Sosoiura and K. Simonov, who during the war wrote nationalistic poetry, Ukrainian and Russian respectively. While Simonov was never criticised for bourgeois nationalism, Sosoiura was. Golansky said he knew nothing about it. I used this example to show that what is allowed

Golansky: to a Russian, is labeled nationalism in case of a Ukrainian)
I am not aware of any tensions among Ukrainians and Russians. Ukrainians hold the most responsible positions in the Soviet Union. Russians do not treat them as inferiors. Russians love Ukrainians and consider them their brothers.
My comment: Because they can afford to love them. Any large independent nation considers the smaller suppressed nations as brothers. It's a natural imperialistic feeling of a large state.
Golansky: (very emotionally) You are calling us imperialists! We give more to the Ukrainians than to ourselves. You sound like Jews who are always complaining in the Soviet Union.
Vassyl returns and imperialism ends here. Conversation turns to economic exploitation and to the problem of merging of nations again.

Golansky versus Androsov: The New Generation.

Androsov emphasizes spontaneous "migration" of young people to Kazakhstan and Soviet Far Eastern areas to work and study. Stresses the pure conviction of the young generation to participate in the building of Communism.

Meanwhile, I ask Golansky about his daughter. Golansky feels that he cannot understand the young generation. They are completely different, with new ideals and new convictions. They want to evaluate and re-evaluate life in their own manner. Notes the heated discussions concerning Khrushchev and death of Stalin in Red Square after Stalin's death. Points out that he was disturbed very much about his daughter as once he had told her many things which were later considered in a changed light. He had often felt that he had failed her completely. She refused to enter the Komsomol when he suggested it. Asked why, she said: "I do not want to be a careerist!" It seemed to her that only those interested in a career entered Komsomol. It disturbed Golansky that she was interested only in an easy life, dancing and fun.

Vassyl pick up this trend. Aha, this is a complete contradiction to what Androsov stressed. Androsov becomes furious. Conversation concerning daughter breaks. About 5 minutes later, Golansky return to the subject of his daughter. Points out that many things have now changed, his wife has just written to him that their daughter had joined the Komsomol voluntarily. He had been surprised. During this explanation speaks in a manner not to be missed by Androsov who is talking to Holubnychy.

Later, talking completely privately to me again about his daughter, Golansky apologizes (?) for Komsomol. Tells me it's really good for young people to belong to a youth organization.

Translation from Ukrainian

When ZNAYENKO returned, he found a heated discussion about Russian imperialism going on between Myroslava, ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY, the latter two denying the existence of any Russian imperialism. ANDROSOV stated

that a nationality problem did not exist in a socialist system (and the USSR was a socialist country). Hostility among nations, he said, exists only under capitalism. In a socialist system essential differences among nations disappear and therefore talk about nationality antagonisms in the USSR is bourgeois propaganda. This cannot exist between Ukrainians and Russians because they are friendly and closely related people. Besides, there is almost no difference between Ukrainians and Russians and they have a common history almost a thousand years old. In addition, ANDROSOV continued, Ukrainians are similar to the Russians in their language, culture, habits, mentality, etc, and the Ukraine has always been a part of Russia.

ZNAYENKO and Myroslava (V. HOLUBENYCHY was not yet present) presented the following views as a rebuttal to ANDROSOV's blunt criticism. He was told that there is little in common between class struggle and the nationality question, that a nation is something more than classes and economics and that by the use of these phrases the Stalin dogmatics (and there are many of them in the USSR) try to falsify and distort the true facts of the problem. The Soviet press, and particularly the Party organs, prints much about the nationality problem in the USSR and about socialism. ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY claimed they were not aware of this.

ZNAYENKO then brought up the subject of economic relations between the Russian and non-Russian republics. He said that perhaps it was not right to speak of economic exploitation, but there was a lot of injustice in their economic relations. One can cite many facts regarding the imbalance of economics in the Ukraine or Byelorussia. In the Ukraine there are highly developed branches of industry such as coal, manufacture of metal, steel foundrys, heavy machinery. On the other hand, these are poorly developed branches such as manufacture of lighter machinery, manufacture of cars (which is just beginning to be developed), manufacture of various instruments, technical appliances, textiles, etc. Both ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY tried to deny this. ZNAYENKO also mentioned the problem of investments and distribution of capital. The production of capital in the Ukraine, as also in central RSESr is higher than in any place in Siberian raions. Therefore it is more convenient and more practical for the entire USSR and for separate republics to invest capital here and not in other raions. GOLANSKY tried to deny this but for some reason did not want to continue the conversation. Instead, he began to talk about the great development of economy in the non-Russian republics, thanks to Russia. ANDROSOV tried to convince Myroslava and ZNAYENKO that the standard of living in the Ukraine was higher than in Russia, that the Ukrainians live better and that prices and taxes were lower in the Ukraine. In addition to this he said (and if this is true, it is an interesting fact) that in Armenia there aren't any taxes at all. (note: Vsevolod HOLUBENYCHY was present at this time.)

ZNAYENKO asked them whether they had any statistics to support their statements. He said that the USSR didn't compute national income according to republics. (Why? Only recently the Soviet economists began to discuss this aspect. Neither GOLANSKY or ANDROSOV knew about this). Therefore, he said, it was not possible to know what the national income was in the various republics, which means that you cannot compare the living

standard. Both Soviets were surprised by this statement and merely replied that they were there, they saw and they know. ANDROSOV, however, turned to GOLANSKY and said there was much truth in what was said and he admitted that there is a lot wrong with the planning and that more attention should be paid to the economic demands and needs of the non-Russian republics. V. HOLUBNYCHY mentioned that the standard of intermediate education in the Ukraine is lower than in Russia. (Russia is urbanized and therefore has better schools, a higher standard of education, etc.) Therefore it is more difficult for Ukrainians to compete with Russians in entrance examinations in higher educational institutions and that is why the Russians are able to progress (position-wise) everywhere. This flatly means descrimination. The government should not allow this since it constantly claims equality in the economic and other standards of the peoples of the USSR.

GOLANSKY tried to defend himself with the statement that that is how it is and that they would talk about where people should study or where they should work. (This was in reply to our claim that there are many Russians in the Ukraine, especially in Lvov and also in the Baltic states. We asked them why Russians didn't colonize in Siberia instead of moving into the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltics) We said that to us this is not an accident but a forcing of the Russian element into the Ukraine. GOLANSKY added, "in planning, we are concerned with all the Soviet interests and not interests of separate republics."

Following this we changed to the subject of Russification. ZNAYENKO told ANDROSOV that claiming that Ukrainians and Russians have a common history more than a thousand years old is twisting and falsifying the historical fact; that is, what was once written by czarist literary hacks, that is what is claimed today by Russian chauvinists in the West, and along with them, many Western historians. The Ukraine had nothing in common with Russia up to the 17th century. It had ties with Lithuania, later with Poland and in this way with the West. ANDROSOV began to refer to the Kievan Rus. We replied that the Kievan Rus had not yet been thoroughly defined by the historians. One could agree that it was a joint nation of three peoples, (spil'na derzhava thryox narodiv) although the Russians ordinarily do not recognize this. Besides, certain Historians (Hrushevsky, Pokrovs'ky) spoke of two centers - Kiev and Novgorod. However, today there is a host of examples that the Russians in the USSR claim everything for themselves. We mentioned that in one of the recent issues of the Academy of Sciences USSR, reference was made to Slovo O Polky I Thorevi as a Russian literary work. Both ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY stated that they knew nothing about this. They said this was a common work. GOLANSKY later admitted that he had read about it someplace and that it was wrong. We asked him why these things happened, who permits them to happen and why this was allowed to go on. He could not answer this question.

We also discussed the Russification aspects of the new program of the CP. We said that the merging of nations over a period of 20 years is nonsense (In general, the building of Communism in one country is anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist), and that the program clearly speaks of this. The

program also speaks of merging on a Russian basis. Is this not Russification? GOLANSKY again replied that this was all new to him, that he had read the program but did not recall anything like that in it. We continued - why merging on a Russian basis? You say that sooner or later socialism will become a system of the world. Do you think that the Germans and French will agree to accept Russian language and culture? The Poles and other Slavs are not accepting this. (Note: ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY openly discussed their dislike of Poles.) They both more or less agreed this was a good question. ANDROSOV again admitted that we were right. He said ~~often~~ ^{they} bury themselves but things aren't all that bad. (Note: ANDROSOV in the beginning took an extreme position in the discussions but later began to change his views. He frequently agreed with us and, as a rule, addressed himself to GOLANSKY when he did so.)

We returned to the subject of Russification pressures in the Ukraine. We stated that the Ukrainians suffered greatly during the famine and during the Stalin purges, and that Ukrainians are always being accused of bourgeois nationalism. GOLANSKY began to deny this. He said that Russians suffered more losses during the year of famine and during the purges. (He did not even deny that there was a famine in 1933 and said that terrible events took place then.) He said that during the famine he was in Rostov-on-the-Don and personally saw what happened there.

GOLANSKY stated that he was in the Ukraine and not once did he hear any complaints from Ukrainians, and that he saw no signs of Russification at all in the Ukraine. On the contrary, he said, there is friendship and cooperation between the Ukrainians and Russians, the Ukrainians are respected in the USSR and that Ukrainians occupy positions of leadership in the government, army, etc. (He said the army was full of Ukrainians - Malynovsky, Grechko are Ukrainians.) He said that many Ukrainians especially have occupied important positions since Khrushchev took office. Khrushchev brought in many Ukrainians. "In Moscow it is being said that everything has become 'ko' and you see, we Russians, aren't saying that the Ukrainians are pressuring us or the like." Only the Jews and the Armenians, GOLANSKY continued, complain in the USSR. The latter quarrell about the quality of land. "Do you want the Ukrainians to be like the Jews?", GOLANSKY asked. He mentioned the Crimea as a sign of friendship between two peoples. When we told them that the Crimea belongs to the Tartars, ANDROSOV tried to convince us that the Crimea is Slavic (the settlement by Slavs during the days of Kievan-Rus, etc.)

ANDROSOV stated that perhaps there are some disorders in the Western Ukraine but this is not true in the central areas of the USSR. (He mentioned this also earlier in the discussion.) In general, ANDROSOV said, this is all bourgeois propaganda. The Americans who want a separate Ukraine make these claims. When we asked him who in particular, he said, VOICE OF AMERICA, and its Ukrainian speakers. He cited as ^{another} ~~other~~ example, Captured Nations Week. ANDROSOV answered in the affirmative when ZNAYENKO asked whether Ukrainians listened to Voice of America and whether it had any effect.

National Democracies of Eastern Europe

During a discussion regarding the new Communist Party program, ZNAYENKO asked why there was reference to the union and merging of nations in the USSR only. What about the Eastern European countries? ANDROSOV replied that eventually these countries will also in some form be united with the USSR. He then added that this union would not necessarily be called the USSR, there could be some other union. To prove that this was not idle talk, he called attention to the economic cooperation and efforts to integrate the economic systems of these countries into the system in the USSR.

When Myroslava later told ANDROSOV that in her talks with Hungarian refugees she has come to the conclusion that the majority of them are socialists, he replied "What kind of socialist are they," and besides, added that the problem today is not socialism.

Their comments about China were cautious. ANDROSOV said that it was the Americans who were inciting the Chinese against the USSR, that Americans are also involved in the relations between the USSR and Albania. China and Albania were mentioned as an example that the USSR, in its foreign policy, governs itself exclusively by its own government interests (mainly, Russian interests) that it wants to subjugate other socialist countries itself and that this leads to conflicts. ZNAYENKO, for example, asked why the USSR held back economic aid to Albania and decreased economic aid to China. Instead, the USSR gives aid to other non-socialist countries as, for instance, Egypt, while Nasser pursues Egyptian Communists and puts them in jail. This is a sign that the USSR concerns itself with some other interests and not socialism. They both agreed with this statement, although ANDROSOV stated that one should not separate economic questions from politics and ideology. GOLANSKY stated that it would be better if the USSR didn't give economic aid to any one but made use of the money and machinery at home. In other words, he took a stand against economic aid on the basis that the USSR is not that wealthy.

II. War and Peace, Soviet Foreign Policy, Particularly Relations between the U.S.A. and the USSR, the Cuban Question and Soviet and U.S. Military Strength.

In our discussion regarding the nationality problem in the USSR, we tried to convince ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY that the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union continue Stalin's forced Russification of the non-Russian peoples. We stated that such policy is anti-national, and, simultaneously, anti-social, and that Soviet practice parts with theory insofar as the equality of rights of the alleged socialist nations is concerned. In addition, this is a violation of the rights of the national (a term which has been replaced by the word "union") republics guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR. Such policy contradicts those social-economic and political changes which were brought to the USSR after 1953. If there is liberalization and democratization in the USSR, they why does

Russification continue? This phenomenon can be explained only by the fact that the Government and Party are in the hands of a Russian leadership which cares only about Russian interests.

It is interesting also, we continued, that ignoring the internal changes in the USSR since 1953, the Soviet Government continues its aggressive and harsh foreign policy. There is no relationship between the internal and the foreign policy. There is no relationship between the internal and the foreign policy of the Government and Party. If the Government and the Party didn't subordinate the interests of the USSR and socialism to Russian Government interests then their policy toward socialist countries and countries of the West would be and would have to be more peaceful. We frankly stated that the Soviet Government is responsible for the conflicts between the USSR and Albania and the USSR and China, reminding them of the statement of Chou En-lai that China would not subordinate its internal policy to Soviet Government interests.

All this, and particularly our accusations regarding Soviet foreign policy, brought a strong and harsh reaction from them both. First ANDROSOV and later Golansky, took the position that the U.S.A. exclusively was responsible for the present state of international relations. Not only did they abuse America and Americans, but they revealed a beastial hatred (for America and Americans).

ANDROSOV said something like this: "We don't intend to tolerate Americans any longer.

We are big and strong and America constantly abuses us and undermines our authority in the world. (GOLANSKY even complained that the American press frequently refers to them as 'Reds'; that is, as bandits). Besides, we and communism must keep going ahead. Coexistence is impossible. If the Americans continue to try to hold us back we will be forced to use stronger means. This restraint can lead to war which we do not fear because we know that we are strong. Besides, the Americans have surrounded us with military bases. We cannot live this way and will no longer tolerate this. We must liquidate these bases."

"Americans understand only strength and we are stronger than America and will slap Americans in the face. (translator's comment: The expression used was "nabyemo yim mordu" morda being a very common expression for mouth.) You are naive, you don't know that American generals are preparing for war.

"In the event the Americans strike at Cuba- War. We immediately take Berlin, the Dardanelles, all of Europe. Anyway, one way or the other, Europe will become a zone of Soviet influence. We will destroy America in two days. There are two rockets aimed at every American city, let the Americans know that we too have 'push bottoms'"

GOLANSKY spoke in a similar spirit. They both emphasized that the U.S.A. would bear the responsibility for war, even if the USSR starts it first. They said it was not important who started the war but who will

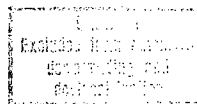
be the cause of it and lead to it. The U.S.A. continually pressures the USSR, and the USSR can no longer stand aside. Americans, he said, should understand this. They think, ANDROSOV said, that we are weak. This is a mistake. We know that it is impossible to come to an agreement with the Americans. They understand only strength.

They both held to their views, even when we told them that war would also destroy the USSR. ANDROSOV belittled the consequences of war for the USSR and GOLANSKY, although he agreed that the USSR would also be destroyed, insisted that they would nevertheless win the war. He based this thinking on the fact that Soviet economy is planned and that the USSR has more changes for victory. He said that the market economy of the USA would immediately fall apart so that from the very first attack on the U.S.A. the Americans will lack all physical abilities to continue the war.

In this way they both declared that the USSR is presently ready for war both militarily and economically and neither of them had any doubt that in the event of war with the United States, the USSR would win. They both also emphasized that the USSR could start a war and blame it on "The constant aggressiveness of the U.S.A.," and the USSR's need to protect socialism.

During the discussion, both before and after the expression of their views regarding war, GOLANSKY and ANDROSOV both constantly stated that one way or another the USSR and socialism would win. The Americans, they said, continually lose one position after another. So that for example, ANDROSOV said, "within 5 or 10 years, all of South America will be ours". He didn't elaborate whether the USSR would take it by force or win it as a result of revolutions. However, V. ZNAYENKO replied that it will not be possible to justify the seizure of South America, where feudal systems still reign with the need to build socialism. No one will believe this and such an idea is another example of Soviet-Russian imperialism. ANDROSOV then began to try to get out of this one. "I didn't mean to say that we would seize America by force. Now, for instance, when Cuba asked us for help, we gave it to her. If others ask (for Help), we will give it to them also." V. ZNAYENKO replied to this by stating, "Aha, I understand you. In Cuba there took place a social or socialist revolution. Call it what you will. You gave and continue to give them aid, and now you consider it (Cuba) yours." This agitated ANDROSOV very much and he was at a loss as to how to defend himself. At this moment, GOLANSKY stood up and began to berate and warn America.

In return, V. ZNAYENKO stated that the USSR, that is Russia, hides its imperialist intentions and justifies its expansionism by calling them acts in the interest of peace and socialism. One cannot justify the seizure of Cuba and Latin America with mere socialism. At any rate, ZNAYENKO continued, "no one believes in your socialism anymore. Why don't you agree to free elections in Germany? Because you well know that you will lose. National democracies in Eastern Europe were created with the help of Soviet bayonets. Events in 1956 in Poland and Hungary revealed all



the lies of the so-called national or socialist revolution. Is it possible that you do not understand this", he asked ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY.

They were both stunned by this and were at a loss to defend themselves. Vsevolod HOLUBENYCHY quietly told ZNAYENKO not to antagonize them: "Have some mercy on them. Can't you see that they have already given in?"

A short time later, Myroslava, Lida and ANDROSOV began to sing Ukrainian songs. GOLANSKY soon sat down next to ZNAYENKO and praised the beauty and charm of Ukrainian songs. ZNAYENKO teased that this was so thanks to the good influences of the great Russian people, its culture, etc.

Other Ideas and Opinions of ANDROSOV and GOLANSKY

1. ANDROSOV Regarding U. S. Trade Unions. American trade unions are fascist organizations. American capitalism thriving on them today. However, he said that American workers understand and the situation would not last much longer.

ANDROSOV told Myroslava that within ten years the United States would be in a very direful situation. "You cannot even imagine what it will be like," he said, but he did not elaborate what he had in mind.

When Myroslava asked him when, in his opinion, America would be Communized, he thought a while and then said that it would be in about one-hundred years, if things develop normally.

2. GOLANSKY Regarding Social-Political Order in the U.S.A. There is no democracy in the United States. You can vote only for two parties. He remained silent when we told him that there were more than two parties in the United States and that we had one more privilege - not to vote at all. We told him they don't even have this right in the Soviet Union and that a one party system didn't mean democracy. We ridiculed the fact that in the Soviet Union 99.9% always took part in the elections.

3. GOLANSKY and ANDROSOV about Western Germany and Germans in General. The Soviet Union does not fear the Germans. "There is no need to even speak of the Germans", ANDROSOV said, "The chief threat is America". "However", he said, "One should not trust the Germans."

4. Neither England nor Sweden are Socialist countries. Scandinavian socialism is so much eyewash. They both stated, however, that the problem is not socialism.

5. The Monroe Doctrine. ANDROSOV: This is the shielding of American imperialism. However, the United States is not in a position to utilize it and to force it upon other American countries. When ZNAYENKO stated that the purpose of the Doctrine was and is to protect the American

Continent from European imperialism, they both began to laugh. They both stated that the USSR forced the U.S.A. to modify the Doctrine and that the USSR would force the U.S.A. to make other concessions.

Results, Ideas and Opinions

1. The conversation proved that it is possible today to talk with Soviet citizens. It is important that they and not we were on the defensive at all times. We took the offensive and it was difficult for them to defend themselves. In the discussion regarding the nationality question in the USSR, ANDROSOV at first took the extreme position but he could not hold up against our criticism and had to agree with us. More important is the fact that we had some influence on them. We have no doubts about that. The influence was particularly great on GOLANSKY. We forced him to think about problems which until now did not exist for him.

2. The importance of the Ukraine in the USSR. They both understand it very well, although it is possible that GOLANSKY took this for granted. They led us to understand that partially because of this, the Russians are prepared to tolerate Ukrainian demands and make concessions to them. They both emphasized the important part played by the Ukrainians, particularly in economical, political and military aspects. On the other hand, they revealed extreme views where separation of the Ukraine from the USSR is concerned. ANDROSOV stated that in the event of the separation of the USSR, he would be the first to speak for her immediate return to the union.

3. ZNAYENKO feels that their opinions regarding war reflect the ideas and intentions of the Soviet leadership which is heart and soul Russian. The Soviet Government obviously veils its true intentions from the ordinary Soviet citizen who believes that the USSR stands for peace and coexistence. MEDOV who had opportunity to talk with many Soviet representatives during his trip to the USSR in the past year had mentioned the military intentions of the Soviet leadership, and particularly Russian intelligentsia. He was very impressed by the strong nationalist intentions of the Russian intelligentsia which even considers itself the savior of West European culture and education. The general public, however, doesn't want war.

Myroslava's report in English to AECASSOWAY/2

3.00 AM (Oct. 4) I propose that we take a walk and get a breath of fresh air. The idea is accepted. Outside Androssov takes my arm and I realize that he is quite drunk. We all walked to the Riverside Park and sat down on bench near 116th Street. Holubynchy took Golansky aside, while Androssov, I, Dagnija and Lydia sat down in that order on the bench. Lydia asked A. whether he fought in the war. He said no. Lydia expressed disappointment that he did not fight for his country. He felt obliged to explain that he was doing valuable work. Between 1941-44 he worked on a war plant in Georgia developing bomber planes but not so-called "hakurudznyky". (?) Asked whether he was an engineer, he first said yes, then modified

it by adding that for 15 years he had been a simple worker.

I expressed hope that we may meet again one day. He said that this is possible. He may take a position at the United Nations (this softly, don't believe others heard it. He repeated this again the next day in the presence of Vassyl and D.). Of course he would first write his book about the trip to the U.S. I asked him whether he would bring his family to U.S. Possibly, ~~he~~ was not sure.

3.30 AM Lydia leaves for home. Soon afterwards we start walking toward 116th Street subway. Holubynchy takes Dagnija by hand and walks with her first ahead of us, then joins us, holding Dagnija by hand until we reach sub-way (Possible impression upon Androsov about Dagnija's potentials). At station, Vassyl and Golansky begin to exchange addresses. Androsov watches carefully. All at once, grabs Dagnija by hand and starts walking away, down 116th Street. (As they are leaving, Dagnija looks at Vsevolod, Holubynchy nods as if in approval.) A. and D. turn right on Claremont. Vassyl remembers a book he wants to give to Golansky (title: *not supplied* and we all walk back to the apartment, following A. and D. By the time Vassyl and I come out from the apartment, all 4 are standing at the door.

Conversation continues, groups change. Vassyl and G. talk about exchange of books, thesis subject, materials, etc. V. Holubynchy tries to talk to Androsov about Trade Unions. Suggests that A. should study activities of the Federation of Trade Unions rather than individual U. S. trade-union relations. Androsov uncooperative. Hardly answers. (I have had continuous impression that A. never wished to talk too much to Holubnychy)

Androsov stands aside with me and asks about emigree relations between Ukrainians and Poles in U.S. Are there contacts? My answer: yes, we have good relations. All Slavs have some disagreements among themselves and with each other. Ukrainians in this respect are somewhat better organized than the rest. Cooperation with Poles is good on the academic level. Both Ukrainians and Poles have Academies of Sciences. Often Ukrainian-Polish questions are discussed openly at conferences. Ukrainians have also had conferences on Jewish-Ukrainian relations. Androsov becomes interested, asks who participated and what was discussed. Seems surprised. I stress that discussions again on academic level and very serious. Present many well known professors from universities interested in this problem. Jews and others. Conversation at this point is interrupted when Holubnychy approaches us.

(p. s., I also mention that we have good relations with certain less ~~Andvinistic~~ elements among Russians)

4.00 AM A little before 4 o'clock I leave the group to go home. Some

15 min. later Holubnychy, Vasyl and Dagnija return to apartment and begin heated discussion concerning their impressions. Too much is said before Dagnija!!!! All agreed that A is dangerous but most interesting because of his Ukrainian background. Party breaks up at 5.00. D. and ~~Vassyl~~^{Androsov} sit close, embrace.
Important: we notice that A. forgot (?) his glasses on the table.

October 4, 1962 (Thursday)

- 11.30 AM Telephone rings. Androsov's voice asks softly: "Dagnija?" I answer, no Myroslava (in Russian, immediately recognize voice). Inquires whether he could come to get his glasses that day because already Friday his visa expires and he does not know what will happen. I suggest that we could bring him the glasses if he is too busy. No, he could come at 8.30 that evening. Was I busy? We decide on 8.30.
- 8.30 PM Vassyl and Dagnija are in the library (we decided that I should be alone for a while with him to see whether his visit had a special purpose). Androsov is late. 9.00 Vassyl and Dagnija return.
- 9.15 Androsov finally arrives at 9.15, apologizing for being late. We begin friendly, non-political conversation. However, soon after arrival he asks for our address, insists we should correspond. Willingly offers his address. (At this point addresses are not exchanged, only later after Holubnychy leaves.) Telephone rings, Holubnychy suggests that he wants to talk to us. I tell him that we have company, Androsov. Does he wish to join us? Of course.
- 9.45 Holubnychy arrives (A. non-committal, not especially pleased to see H.) Conversation consists primarily of jokes. Vassyl tells joke about letter N and Adam and Eve (both anti-Soviet brought by Klochke) Androsov not too pleased, tries to tell anti-American jokes (about Vishinski, He is not antagonistic but tries to retaliate. Vassyl tries to change conversation and direct it again toward the national problem. (by the way, upon arrival A. excused himself for the heated conversation the night before and the extreme views which he had expressed)
- Vassyl: "Last night you tried to convince us that the Soviet young people do not pay much attention to their national background, and try to build Communism in the USSR as a whole, rather than expressing interest in their national affairs exclusively (culture, etc.) Evidently this is not true and there are many facts which point to the contrary: for instance, just the other night I read some new poems by a young Ukrainian poet, Vassyl Symoneko (published in Zmina, no. 8, 1962) In one of his poems he tells the reader that one can choose everything, save one's own motherland. Of course

he means and he says so, Ukraine. All of this means that the young people have a great deal of national feeling. Androsov's reaction was defensive. He admitted that this might be so, but was unwilling to pursue the subject. Vassyl refused to drop the subject and returned to (discussed night before) the problem of the history of Kiev, Rus!

Androsov replied that all about this subject was already said by Grokov. Feeling that this was an appropriate memento I showed him "Obirvani Struny". He looked at the index and admitted that this was interesting and looked at the biography of some of the authors. Added that after all it was part of bourgeois nationalism. (Impression: he was interested in this work but refused to show it) A little later I showed him Kononenko and suggested that if he wants he can have it. Vassyl had 2 copies. Androsov was not too enthusiastic but agreed that it would be interesting to read it and that he would take it. After this conversation turned back to jokes. Later Androsov started to discuss American theatre. Asked us about our impressions. Was there true dramatic art in the U.S. Both Vassyl and Vsevolod tried to convince him that there was.

2.00 AM (Oct. 5) Vsevolod leaves. As he says good-bye makes the following statement: By the way, have you ever during your trip in this country told any Americans about your views on war. This would be disastrous (Eto byl by uzhas). Americans must not know your thoughts on this subject. Androsov replied: no, we would never do it. Androsov was surprised and really didn't know what to say. He mumbled something like this: We were frank and open about what we said because we considered you as friends. Vsevolod replied: very good.

After Holubnychy's departure, Androsov turned back to exchange of addresses. Willingly offered his own, both at home and at the office. Asked for ours. I wrote mine and Dagnija's on a slip of paper (I printed). Vassyl gave him a printed label with his address. Androsov began to insist that we also write down on the slip of paper our interest and what kind of books we would like him to send us. It was obvious that he was interested in our handwriting, especially Vassyl's. We wrote down what he asked, Vassyl ^{rate} wrote names of some books, I mentioned my interest (literary relations among Slavs and modern Ukrainian and Russian poets) Androsov insisted that he would do everything to send us books. He had promised many people similar things but we would be first in his thoughts. As far as Ukrainian poets were concerned, he would send me all he could find. There is a Ukrainian book-shop in Moscow which he would visit regularly to find something for me. He paid little attention when I added that I was also interested in modern Russian poets. Repeated that he would send me everything about Ukrainian literature. (His daughter would soon write to me to thank me for the teddy-bear)

4.00 AM See paragraph 3, October 4, 1962 on discussion of Dagnija and Androsov.

Relations between Dagnija Lazdins and V. Androsov

Personal data on Dagnija Lazdins

Born Riga, Latvia, 1940

B.S. in Chemistry, Ohio State 1960

M.S. in Chemistry, Ohio State 1962 (June)

Since Feb. 1962 resident in N.Y., attending

Columbia Univ. National Science Foundation

Fellow. Presently Assistant in Chemistry

Dept., working toward Ph.D.

Has lived with me at 21 Claremont Ave. N.Y. USA since June 1962.

CIT USA
SEX F

October 3, 1962 (Wednesday) RE CONTACT WITH

MAROSLAVA TAMORU

1. Dagnija joined our party at about 11 o'clock. Although she understood no Russian, she remained with us during the entire party. Androsov's interest in Dagnija was first felt briefly when he discovered that she was from Latvia. She spoke very little, hardly at all. Occasionally we translated something for her, or A and G spoke a little English. She made one definite statement in presence of A.: that she was not interested in national problems but stood for humanity as a whole.

2. When during the night we sat in the park, A (in presence of Lydia and me) asked D. where she was born. She said Riga. He then inquired whether she had any relatives there. She said yes, uncles and aunts and grandparents. He then asked: "Who are your parents?" At first she did not understand. I explained that he wanted to know their profession. A. agreed. D. briefly explained that he wanted to know their profession. A. agreed. D. briefly explained that her mother is a doctor, her father an engineer. The conversation ended at this point.

3. D. told me later, that when he took her for a brief walk that night, he asked her again about her parents. Wanted to know whether they worked professionally, i. e., whether they had the same occupations in Latvia. She said yes.

October 4, 1962 (Thursday)

1. At 11.30 AM Androsov called about his glasses which he had forgotten in the apartment the night before. When I answered the telephone, he asked "Dagnija?" Then told me he would come in the evening to get his glasses.

2. During the afternoon D. bought a small shell in the form of a fish to give to A. as a present. On it she wrote: "Speak to the earth, and the earth shall hear thee!"

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

3. During the entire evening, D and A sat together, close to each other, with Androsov's arm around Dagnija. Toward 4 AM (Oct. 5), when we decided to walk the men to the subway, A. and D. started to walk away together. When I jokingly inquired whether they wanted to be alone, A and D both, said yes. They spent a good hour together walking in the rain. According to Dagnija, their relationship was strictly personal, he asked her nothing. Only in the beginning when he wondered why she was so good to him, she answered: "To show you that not all Americans are bad." D. told me later that she had a distinct feeling that he did not wish to pursue such a conversation.

They returned to the apartment at about 5.15 AM (Vassyl had suspected this possibility and purposely did not leave for home) D. said she came to get some alka-seltzer as A. was not feeling well. D. then took A. to Times Square. She returned home at 6.30 AM. Dagnija told me the following: He had asked to see her once more. Wanted to call her in her office. Would not call her at home as he did not want me to know anything about it. Since she could not remember her office number, she promised to call him instead. She would call him at about 2. PM (Oct. 5), then they would meet somewhere. He said he would be free all afternoon.

October 5, 1962 (Friday)

Between 2-5.30 PM, Dagnija tried to reach Androsov by telephone (Room 952, Barclay Hotel) He was not in. By 5.30 she was somewhere near his hotel. When he finally answered the telephone at 5.30 he asked her to come straight up to his room. According to D., she spent only a few minutes in his room. A. was afraid that Golansky might walk in (Golansky's room was accross the hall). He did not want G. to know anything about it. They locked the door. Twice someone knocked, A. said it was the laundry-man not G. He knew G.'s special knock. A. soon asked D. to leave alone and wait for him outside. Joined her and they went to a bar. Altogether she was with him about one hour.

A. gave D. a colored picture of himself and G. sitting on some rocks near a beach (photograph dated on margin May 1962). He signed it: "Dagnija from Vladimir,"

A. promised to write to D. first. Asked her to write to his address at the institute, not home. Insisted that she tell us nothing about the meeting. Asked her to write him all about herself and her work. Promised to send her books on chemistry. Suggested that she learn Russian and asked her to visit the Soviet Union.

Dagnija's impression about Androsov

He is a lonely man in a foreign country. He is a good man with a sympathetic, very warm personality, kind and tender. Trustful. In general he asked her no questions, except why she was so good to him. They could not talk much. Although his English was good, they had some difficulty in communicating. She felt a definite

language barrier. He is obviously unhappy with his wife:

((Comment: Androsov talked to us much about his daughter (this was stimulated by the fact that I gave him a large white teddy-bear for his daughter which made him very happy) but said very little about his wife. When Vasyl made a joke saying that his wife will make inquiries whether he met any women in U.S., A. replied: "I don't know what she is doing in Moscow". However, I was true to her all this time." When we inquired whether he wanted to have any more children, he said this was not possible. His wife had "heart trouble". He expressed doubts that she was really ill and added that all Soviet women were now very modern and did not want more than one or two children. But perhaps things will work out between them when he returns.))

Supplementary notes on V. Androsov

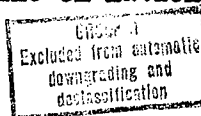
1. Was present at a Ukrainian picnic in Cleveland and talked to some Ukrainians. Also talked to Ukrainians in Detroit.
2. Personal: in contrast to Golansky who is gentlemen to the last button of his coat, Androsov is somewhat uncouth
(treba bilshe)
3. Knows how to lead a conversation. Capable of creating pleasant atmosphere by telling a joke during most heated discussion.
4. Loves Ukraine more than I (this in the park)
5. Jokes about Ukraine-~~androsov is laughing at me~~

Golansky tried many times to interrupt conversation and turn to safer grounds. Golansky and Jewish problem: anti-semitic but emotionally involved. Constantly brings in Jews and Matzos. Story about daughter and a Jewish girl. Story about Russian children in Odessa speaking Jewish accept. (this long ago told to us)

Our impression: Golansky not concerned with direct party problems. Possible too high up in party ranks to care. May be more sophisticated (Bytyi) in this respect but I tend to believe that he really does not care too much. In previous conversations seldom defended Soviet Union (railroads. What railroads?) Intellectual type.

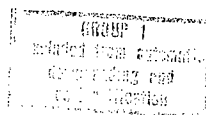
Androsov: definitely member of party (admitted that he worked in Komsomol and Local Party Committees) concerned with national problem and internal policymaking. I am convinced that his function in U.S. extend beyond Trade Unions.

In spite of violent reaction to Ukraine on nationalism, there



-19-

beats a Ukrainian heart. Kept admitting that there is something
here in what we say, and took Soloukhins article seriously. ad-
mitted over and over that we have a point.



ANDROSOV, Vladymyr Pavlovych

70201
Place of Employment : Institute of World Economics and International Relations
Academy of Sciences, USSR
Ptoraya Yaroslavskaya 3
Moscv, USSR

Home Address : Δ Pervoy Akademichesky Pryesd 41/5, Kvartira 1
Moscv 312, USSR

Place of birth : Taganrog, RSFSR *u.s.s.r.*

Date of birth : not known. Apparent age - 45 DOB 1916

Occupation : Supposedly engineer by profession *(RE CONTACT WITH MYROSLAVA TAGANROG)*
Field of specialization: Industrial and Labor relations, particularly the study of trade unions in the U.S.A.

Marital Status : Married. Has a six year old daughter

Other information : Worked 15 years as a common laborer(dates not known).

1941-44 - worked in Georgia in a military aircraft plant.

Was not "at the front".

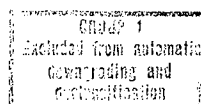
Travelled widely throughout the Ukraine and all of the USSR.

For some reason he seems well acquainted with the dukhobors. He said he was never in Leningrad.

This is his first trip abroad, although he had been in Czechoslovakia. Speaks English (intermediate knowledge).

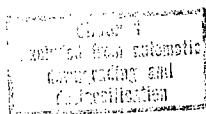
Nationality : Considers himself a Russian. His mother was of Ukrainian birth. Speaks and reads Ukrainian but does not care to use the language. On several occasions stated that he was an internationalist. Knows many Ukrainian songs. When Myroslava showed him a copy of the Kobzar which was published in Prague in 1940, he wanted to know ^{where} it contained Shevchenko poems which it is forbidden to publish in the UkSSR.

Publications of which ANDROSOV is author : Novi Antyrabotcheye Zakonoprojekti v SShA
(Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya, Nom. 8, 1959, str. 89-90.)



Antyrabotcheye Zakoni o 'Prave Na Raboti v SShA
(Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdurodniye Otnosheniya, Nom. 9,
1959, str. 129-30.)

Soveti Belikh Grazhdan
(Mirovaya etc. Nom. 6, 1958, str. 103-04)



GOLANSKY, Mark Mykhailovich

RE CONTACT WITH MYROSLAVA TAMORUG

Place of Employment : Deputy Director (Zamestytel" Direktora)
 Laboratory of Economic-Mathematical Methods
 Academy of Sciences, USSR
 (formerly: Laboratory for Application of Mathe-
 in Economic Research and Planning)
 Volkonka 14
 Moskva, USSR

Home Address : Refused to give his home address, stating his
 employment address was sufficient. He gave his
 home telephone number as follows: 37-5527

Place of birth : Kazan, Tartar ARSR

Date of birth : Not known. Apparent age - 43

Occupation : Economist
 Specialty: Use of Mathematics in economics. Has
 several published works.

Marital Status : Married. Has a 16 year old daughter.
 Has travelled a lot abroad.
 Has been in China, Burma (in connection with setting
 up educational programs), Switzerland and Belgium.
 This was his first trip to the U.S.A.
 Speaks English better than V.P. ANDROSOV.
 It is not known whether he speaks other languages.

Nationality : Russian. According to him, he is $\frac{1}{4}$ Jewish - his
 grandmother was Jewish.

Published works : Ogranycheniye Kredita V SSHA
 (Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdynarodniye
 Otnosheniya Nom. 1, 1957. Str. 105-06)

K VOPROSY O METODIKE PERESCHETA NATSIONAL'NAGO
 DOKHODA SSHA
 (Mirovaya Ekonomika etc. Nom. II, 1959, str. 86-94)

VLIYANIYE TEKHNIЧЕСКОГО ПРОГРЕСА НА КАПИТАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЕ
 ВОСПРИСВОДСТВА
 (Voprosi Ekonomiki, Nom. 9, 1961, str. 128)

